

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 117 936

FL 004 689

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TITLE Classifications of Japanese Speech Levels and Styles.
Papers in Japanese Linguistics, Vol. 2, No. 1.
INSTITUTION University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Dept.
of Linguistics.
PUB DATE 73
NOTE 17p.
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.83 HC-\$1.67 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Descriptive Linguistics; *Japanese; *Language
Classification; *Language Styles; *Language
Variation; Oral Communication; Speech Skills;
*Standard Spoken Usage
IDENTIFIERS Japanese Linguistics Workshop

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the treatment of Japanese speech levels and styles (known as "keigo") in previous studies and discusses the problems involved. An attempt is made to reconstruct the classification of speech levels and styles in modern colloquial Japanese. Speech styles change according to age, social status, sex, and the relationship of the speakers. "Keigo" may be classified into three types: the exalted, the humble, and the polite. The writings of several linguists on "keigo" are summarized, and they reveal a controversy over treatment of polite or elegant words. The following reconstruction of speech classifications is suggested: Speech consists of two components: level and style. Level has subdivisions of honorific and neutral, while the honorific level is further classified into exalted, humble, and polite. The exalted is used to show a speaker's respect for the action or state of a person in higher status. The humble shows humility with respect to the action or state of the speaker or listener. The polite shows a speaker's decision to speak politely or carefully through his expression on the topic. Each level is further modified by informal or formal style, conveying directly the speaker's evaluation of the listener. (CHK)

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Classification of Japanese Speech Levels and Styles¹

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1. Introduction.

Traditionally, Japanese speech levels and styles are referred to as keigo or honorifics. A speaker of Japanese differentiates the levels of the language he uses by considerations such as his social status, age, sex in relation to the one to whom he speaks, his psychological relationship with the object person or other person involved in his talk and the degree of familiarity between them.² This differentiation of levels and styles in speech or writing is one of the most distinctive features of Japanese. Various attempts have been made by both Japanese and western scholars to account for the nature of Japanese speech levels and styles and to classify them. However, they are basically preoccupied with the taxonomy of levels and styles and have not succeeded in accounting for the linguistic factors underlying the choice of a particular level in a given conversation.

This paper aims to investigate the treatment of Japanese speech levels and styles in previous studies and to discuss the problems involved. On the basis of this study, an attempt is made to reconstruct the classification of speech levels and styles in modern colloquial Japanese.

2. Speech levels and styles in previous studies.

Views on the theory and classification of keigo or speech levels and styles differ greatly among Japanese scholars. In a narrow sense, keigo is interpreted as words which express respect for the action of others with whom one speaks or to whom one refers with deference. It refers only to the exalted form of speech.³ In a broader sense, keigo refers to both the exalted and the humble forms, in which one describes one's own actions with positive humility.⁴ However, the most commonly accepted theory is to classify keigo into three types: the exalted, the humble and the polite. In Kaishetsu nihon bunpoo,⁵ Kokichiro Yuzawa follows this classification. He describes the exalted forms or keigo as being expressions which show a speaker's respect for the action or state of the listener or the third person. The humble forms or kengo are used to show humility and can be used with reference to the action or state of the speaker, the listener or the third person, whoever is considered to be of lower status. The polite forms or teineigo are used mainly to show a speaker's respect or politeness directly to the listener, as well as to make his speech elegant. It is marked by the specific forms of the terminal predicates of a sentence such as masu, desu and gozaimasu. As for the expressions indicating elegance of speech, onishi

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'chopsticks' for hashi, okashi 'sweets' for kashi, etc. are commonly used, although some of them can be used as the exalted forms in certain situations.

In Hanashikotoba no bunpoo,⁶ Isago Mio says that the basic elements of speech are goi or lexical items and buntai or style. Lexical items in spoken language can be classified into two types: the plain or futsuugo and the honorific or keijoogo. The honorific words are subclassified into three types: the exalted, the humble and the polite. His treatment of honorific words is the same as that of Yuzawa, except that Mio excludes desu, masu and gozaimasu from the group of Yuzawa's polite words. He suggests that these are components of style, as their main function is to add politeness to the sentence stylistically. He recognizes two styles: the normal or joutai and the formal or keitai. The normal is characterized by the use of da with final predicates, while his formal is further divided into two styles: the desu-style and the gozaimasu-style. The latter is considered to be a politer style than the former.

Mio's classification is supported by Toshiki Tsujimura, who integrates Motoki Tokieda's concept of keigo into his classification. Tokieda's concept of keigo includes ji (desu, masu and gozaimasu) and shi (lexical items other than desu, masu and gozaimasu).⁷ There are, however, some differences in the terms used for each category among these three people. Tokieda differs from the two in one significant way: he makes no distinction between the exalted and the humble, because he feels that these two concepts are not incompatible, but coincide. There is also a difference between them with regard to the expressions used to show a speaker's politeness directly toward the listener. Tsujimura, as opposed to Tokieda and Mio, excludes gozaimasu from his list of taisha-keigo or honorifics by which a speaker expresses his politeness directly to the listener. His taisha-keigo has only desu and masu. He considers gozaimasu as a combined form of the elegant word (gozai) and the polite style (masu) and de gozaimasu as a combination of the copula gerund de and gozaimasu, although gozaru never actually occurs in modern speech and is always used with masu. He calls the polite words in Mio's classification "elegant words," because they are used to make the speech elegant without designating politeness directly to the listener. Tsujimura further elaborates on the exalted and the humble verbs by differentiating verbs in terms of whether the action of the subject person affects another person or not. For example, the exalted forms that do not affect other people are irassharu 'to go' and ossharu 'to say,' whereas the humble forms that do not affect other people are itasu 'to do' and mairu 'to go.' The exalted forms affecting other people are kudasaru 'to give' and oshiete kudasaru 'to teach,' while the humble forms affecting other people are itadaku 'to receive' and sashiageru 'to give.'

Yutaka Miyaji, in his "Gendai-keigo no ichi-koosatsu,"⁸ remarks that words like mairu 'to go,' itasu 'to do,' moosu 'to say,' zonzuru 'to think,' etc. never stand alone in today's language but are always used in combination with masu, which is classified as a polite style. Characteristically, they do not have imperative forms. He,

therefore, distinguishes these words from the so-called polite words and Tsujimura's elegant words and calls them "courteous words." He treats honorific speech levels in five levels: the exalted, the humble, the courteous, the elegant and the polite. The courteous words are used to show a speaker's courtesy toward the listener through his expression on the topic, whereas the elegant words are used to express a speaker's own refinement of speech. The polite words are desu, masu and de gozaimasu.

Among the studies of Japanese speech levels and styles written in English, Eleanor Jorden, in her Beginning Japanese,⁹ distinguishes two styles: the informal and the formal. The informal uses the da or -(r)u ending with final predicates, while the formal is indicated by desu or masu, which makes the preceding verb more polite but has no lexical meaning. She suggests two levels of speech: the plain and the polite. The polite level is subdivided into three: the honorific, the humble and the neutral. Tsujimura's and Jorden's classifications have much in common. However, Jorden's term, "neutral" in the polite level is somewhat vague and misleading. It is not equivalent to plain. It simply means a polite word which is neither honorific nor humble, but it still belongs to the polite level. Her polite-neutral words, then, include gozaimasu 'to be,' ocha 'tea,' ikaga 'how,' etc.

Other scholars such as Samuel Martin,¹⁰ Roy Miller¹¹ and John Young¹² attempt to account for the various levels of politeness in terms of two axes: the axis of address and the axis of reference. Young calls the former the axis of style and the latter, the axis of level. The axis of style is defined by the speaker's attitude toward the listener, whereas the axis of level is determined by the speaker's attitude toward the subject matter including topic, environment and people involved in his talk. The classification made by these scholars closely resembles that of Mio, Tsujimura and Jorden in the respect that they all agree to make a first major distinction between style and level. As for the axis of address, they distinguish three styles: the da-style or the informal, the desu-masu-style or the formal and the de gozaimasu-style or the deferential. As for the axis of reference, Martin and Young provide two categories: the exalted and the humble. Miller, on the other hand, sets up the respectful (-(r)areru) and the elegant (o... ni naru) in addition to the exalted (o... asobasu). It is questionable that these three belong to different types. The difference between them is found as to the degree of politeness or respect showed by the speaker to the subject person involved in his talk. Nevertheless, in all three categories, the speaker regards the subject person as a person of higher status than the speaker; therefore, they are subgroups of Martin's exalted words.

3. Problems.

As is indicated by the preceding section, there is a controversy over the treatment of the polite or elegant words. In the following section, I would like to discuss the problems involved in

Martin's and Young's treatment of speech levels, the treatment of desu, masu and gozaimasu, Tsujimura's elegant words and Miyaji's courteous words, imperative forms of honorific words, etc.

3.1. A need for a third category, the polite. Some traditional Japanese grammarians, and Martin and Young do not provide a category for the polite words. They have only the exalted and the humble. However, in Essential Japanese,¹³ Martin mentions that there is a category called "general honorific" which can be used both humble and exalted situations, for example, Takoo gozaimasu nee 'They are expensive, aren't they?', Isogashuu gozaimasu 'I'm busy' and Kore wa watakushi no de gozaimasu ga, sore wa anata no de gozaimashoo 'This is mine but that must be yours.' In regard to the occurrence of the honorific prefix o- in oshooyu 'soysauce', onaka 'stomach' and Osamuu gozaimasu 'It's cold!' Martin says that it is an extension of the usage exalting the word itself, on its own merits and whether the situation calls for an honorific form or not, the prefix o- is attached to some words. This notion implies that his category of the exalted contains some words which actually do not belong to the exalted.

According to Young, the exalted or "promotion" level is placed at one end of the axis and the humble or "demotion" level on the other end of the axis. His axis works like a see-saw. Promotion of the subject person results in downgrading of the object person, and the demotion of the subject person results in upgrading of the object person. There is a problem here similar to Martin's. Given a sentence like Osamui desu ne 'It's cold!' or Kore wa nihon no ocha desu 'This is Japanese tea,' how can we account for the promotion of the inanimate subject such as 'it' or 'this'? And how can we differentiate gokazoku 'your family' from omizu 'water' in the promotion level? Omizu, onaka, ocha, etc. can not be moved to the axis of style, because this axis is said to be determined by the speaker's evaluation of the speaker and the listener. Moreover, these words can be used regardless of the presence of the listener. For example, Omizu ga nomitai 'I want to drink some water' can be said in a soliloquy as well as in the presence of a listener.

This points out the fact that besides the exalted and the humble, there should be another category, the polite, by which a speaker can express his politeness through the word he uses. It has nothing to do with the status of the referred subject person, but may be used in the presence of a listener or in his absence.

In connection with "promotion" and "demotion" expressions, Young classifies a sentence, Sensei wa Oosaka e irasshaimashita ne 'The teacher went to Osaka, didn't he?' as Type P30, the promotion of the third person (sensei) without involving another object person. But if no object person is involved in honorific speech, theoretically, the level of speech should rest on the neutral level. If the speaker is not conscious of the evaluation of the relative-status-relationship between speaker and subject person, he would say, Sensei wa Oosaka e ikimashita ne instead of Sensei wa Oosaka e irasshaimashita ne. Furthermore, Sensei wa watakushi no uchi e

irasshaimasu 'The teacher comes to my house' can not be classified as Type P31 (the promotion of the third person, resulting in the downgrading of the first person), because irasshaimasu does not necessarily result in the downgrading of the object person (wataku-shi). But it rather involves the absolute relationship between the speaker and the subject person. As Tsujimura mentions, irassharu is a verb which describes an action of the subject person that does not affect another person.

3.2. Desu, masu and gozaimasu. Mio and Young agree with Tsujimura and Jorden as far as the definition of desu and masu is concerned, but Mio and Young also state that the desu family (desu, deshita, etc.) is replaced by the de gozaimasu family for honorific purposes. Martin claims that de gozaimasu is the general honorific equivalent of the copula da. According to Yuzawa, desu and masu are included in the polite words such as okane 'money', yoroshii 'to be good,' etc. The gozaimasu, which I am going to discuss in this paper is not the verb 'to exist' but the one which occurs with the adjective or the copula gerund de. Again, it is not the de gozaimasu which is derived from de arimasu. Let us observe the following:

- (1) a. Watakushi wa gakusei desu.
'I am a student.'
- b. Yamamoto-san no okusan wa kirei desu.
'Mrs. Yamamoto is pretty.'
- c. Sore wa hontoo desu.
'That is true.'
- d. Sensei ga irasshaimashita.
'A teacher came.'
- e. Watakushi ga sashiagemasu.
'I will give it (to him).'

The above examples are changed to the informal as follows:

- (2) a. Watakushi wa gakusei da.
- b. Yamamoto-san no okusan wa kirei da.
- c. Sore wa hontoo da.
- d. Sensei ga irasshatta.
- e. Watakushi ga sashiageru.

It is clear that changing from the formal (desu and masu) to the informal (da and -(r)u) does not change the meaning of the sentences. In (2) d, a speaker's respect shown to the teacher is not changed from (1) d. Similarly, a speaker's deference shown to the third person in (1) e, remains the same as (2) e. The difference between (1) and (2) is the difference of the speaker's attitude toward the

listener and it does not affect the speaker's attitude toward the person whom the reference is made ("Mrs. Yamamoto," "teacher" and "him").

Suppose desu is replaced by de gozaimasu for honorific purposes, desu in (1) a, b and c should be changed to de gozaimasu in case the speaker wants to speak more politely. Thus observe the following sentences:

(3) a. Watakushi wa gakusei de gozaimasu.

*b. Yamamoto-san no okusan wa kirei de gozaimasu.

c. Sore wa hontoo de gozaimasu.

(3) b is not common, not perfectly acceptable. It may be accepted only if the speaker is talking politely about a member of his own family (or in-group), or someone of inferior social status.¹⁴ If the speaker evaluates Mrs. Yamamoto as a person of higher status than the speaker, then he should say Yamamoto-san no okusan wa kirei de irasshaimasu. Consider the following examples:

(4)*a. (Anata ga) Tanaka-sensei de gozaimasu ka.
'Are you Professor Tanaka?'

b. Kirei na oniwa de gozaimasu nee.
'Your garden is beautiful!'

c. Kawai-too wa shizuka de gozaimasu.
'The island of Kauai is quiet.'

d. Kono hana wa utsukushuu gozaimasu.
'This flower is beautiful.'

e. Ame ga hidoo gozaimasu.
'It is raining hard.'

f. Doyoobi wa oyasumi de wa gozaimasen.
'Saturday is not a day off.'

On the same account that (3)b is rejected, (4)a is not acceptable. A speaker normally will not say (4)a to Professor Tanaka, but Tanaka-sensei de gozaimasu ka meaning 'Is he Professor Tanaka?' or 'Do you mean Professor Tanaka?' may be used only in a special situation. However, (4)a and the rest of the examples in (4) can be changed to the formal (desu) or the informal (da) and will be perfectly acceptable. It is noticed that if the subject noun of the sentence is the second or third person, who is of higher status than the speaker and is considered to be a member of an out-group relative to the speaker's in-group, de gozaimasu or gozaimasu is not permitted. On the other hand, if the subject noun is the first person or is animate but not human or is inanimate, de gozaimasu or gozaimasu is

permitted. In the case of desu and masu, however, they occur in any environment without reference to the features of the subject noun. This specification required for gozaimasu suggests that it can not be classified in the same category as desu and masu.

Prideaux points out that a concord of politeness and formality exists between the subject noun and its verb in honorific speech and that the verb may be subcategorized in terms of the features of politeness in the noun and other items which occur with it.¹⁵ In other words, an honorific, exalted verb, ossharu in a sentence Sensei ga soo osshaimasu 'A teacher says so,' will be derived if the subject noun sensei contains one feature [+exalted] in addition to other features such as [+human, +3rd person]. The feature of the subject noun for a sentence with gozaimasu can not be [+exalted], because gozaimasu can not exalt the state of a referred person. It can not be [+humble] either, because the subject noun may be non-human or inanimate. The gozaimasu is inserted only if the subject noun contains a feature [+polite] and the verb of the underlying structure is provided with the feature [+polite, +formal]. On the other hand, the formation of da, desu and masu is not dependent on the feature of the subject noun being exalted, humble or polite. The feature [-formal] for da and [+formal] for desu and masu must be provided for the verb so that a stylistic transformation can operate on the underlying structure. The feature [+formal] indicates the presence of a speaker's politeness or formality shown directly toward the listener and [-formal] indicates the absence of such politeness or formality. The feature [+polite] shows that a speaker expresses politeness through the expressions used in his speech, but not directly toward the listener.

3.3. Miyaji's courteous words and Tsujimura's elegant words. Tsujimura remarks that the category of elegant words and polite style, desu and masu, consists of those expressions which were used as the exalted or the humble in the past.¹⁶ For example, gozaimasu which we use today is actually derived from the exalted verb, gozaru; the polite style masu is derived from the humble verb mairasu, or perhaps from moosu. He says that mairimashita in Ame ga futte mairimashita 'It started raining' and itashimasu in Ressha wa sanji ni shuppatsu itashimasu 'The train will leave at three o'clock' are considered elegant words (or polite words) in today's language.

Miyaji also recognized the modern trend of using mairimasu 'to go,' itashimasu 'to do' and mooshimasu 'to say' and distinguishes these words from Tsujimura's elegant words or his own elegant words like oyatsu 'snack,' oimo 'potato' and oyasumi nasai 'Good night.' The reason he makes such a distinction between the courteous and the elegant is that the former is limited to special verbs which are always used with masu form in the presence of the listener, but the latter mainly consists of polite nouns and some greeting words, which are primarily used to show a speaker's own refinement of speech without consideration of the listener. Whether or not

his courteous words and elegant words are of two distinct categories, like the exalted and the humble, is open to discussion. It seems to me that they are like the head and tail of a coin. They have a common point in that a speaker expresses his politeness through the expressions he uses, making no reference to exalting another person or to humbling himself.

In spite of the fact that Miyaji defines the courteous words as those expressions in which a speaker's courtesy to the listener is shown through his expressions, his examples like A ga B o otazune-itashimasu 'A will visit B,' okaki mooshiagemasu 'will write it,' motte mairimasu 'will bring it,' etc. show a characteristic of the humble verb rather than that of the courteous verb. His treatment of shuppatsu itashimasu 'will leave' as a courteous word will be justified if it is used in a sentence like Ressha wa san-ji ni shuppatsu itashimasu 'The train will leave at three o'clock.' But if it is used in a sentence like Shachoo wa san-ji ni shuppatsu itashimasu 'The president will leave at three o'clock,' shuppatsu itashimasu is a humble expression, because the speaker regards the president either as a member of his in-group (listener is the out-group) or as a person of lower status than the speaker.

Humble verbs such as itashimasu, orimasu, mairimasu and itadakimasu may be used as polite words (or Tsujimura's elegant words), depending on the features of the subject noun in the sentence. Observe the following:

- (5) a. Hi ga sashite mairimashita wa. (Yama no oto)
'It has begun to clear up now.'
- b. Tookyoo mo ame ga agatte orimashita wa. (Yama no oto)
'It stopped raining in Tokyo, too.'
- c. Tori mo orimasu wa. (Yama no oto)
'There are birds.'
- d. Minasan mainichi no yoo ni gohan o itadaitemasu ga, (itadakanai hito wa biyoo-joo kara no riyuu deshoo)... (Sandee-mainichi, Jan. 9, 1972)
'Everyone eats rice almost every day (those who do not eat rice will probably have some reason for their beauty)...
- e. Mata ame ga futte mairimashita. Domo hakkiri itashimasen ne. (Taiguu-hyoogen)
'It started raining again. The weather is not very encouraging, is it?'
- (6) a. Watakushi ga katte mairimasu.
'I will go and buy it.'
- b. Chichi wa byooki de nete orimasu.
'My father is sick in bed.'

- c. Haruko wa orimasen.
'Haruko isn't here.'
- d. Watakushi wa juubun itadakimashita.
'I have had enough to eat.'
- e. Watakushi ga itashimasu kara, goshinpai naku.
'I will do it, so please do not worry.'

It is clear that the use of mairimasu, orimasu, itadakimasu and itashimasu in example (5) differs from that of (6), in which a notion of humility is present. The features of the subject noun in (5) are described as inanimate (a, b and e), animate but non-human (c), and human, 3rd person, unspecified (d), while in (6) the subject noun is either the first person (a, d and e) or a speaker's in-group (b and c). The distinction between (5) d and (6) d should be made clear in order to determine whether the verb belongs to the polite or the humble. If the subject noun is unspecified, meaning people in general, the verb is considered to be polite or elegant. In Miyaji's treatment of courteous words, the features of the subject noun are ignored. Consequently, the distinction between the courteous and the humble is obscured and he gives an impression that itashimasu, mairimasu, orimasu, etc. do not function as humble verbs any longer in modern speech.

A peculiarity of these polite words (or the courteous words in Miyaji's claim) is that they do not have imperative forms. Miyaji assumes that when using courteous words, a speaker's consideration for the listener is crucial. Therefore, courteous words do not permit imperative constructions. His assumption is not quite correct or, really, it is off target. As observed in the above examples, the subject noun of the courteous words can not be the second person; on the other hand, the subject noun of the imperative sentence must be the second person. Transformational generative grammar claims that a hypothetical constituent IMPERATIVE must be included in the deep structure of the underlying sentence, so that it specifies that the sentence is imperative semantically, and provides a structure upon which the imperative transformation applies.¹⁷ An imperative sentence can not be derived from a superficial treatment of verb inflection such as changing irassharu 'to come' to irasshai 'please come.' The derived deep structure of irasshai in a simplified form looks like: IMP anata-ga irassharu.

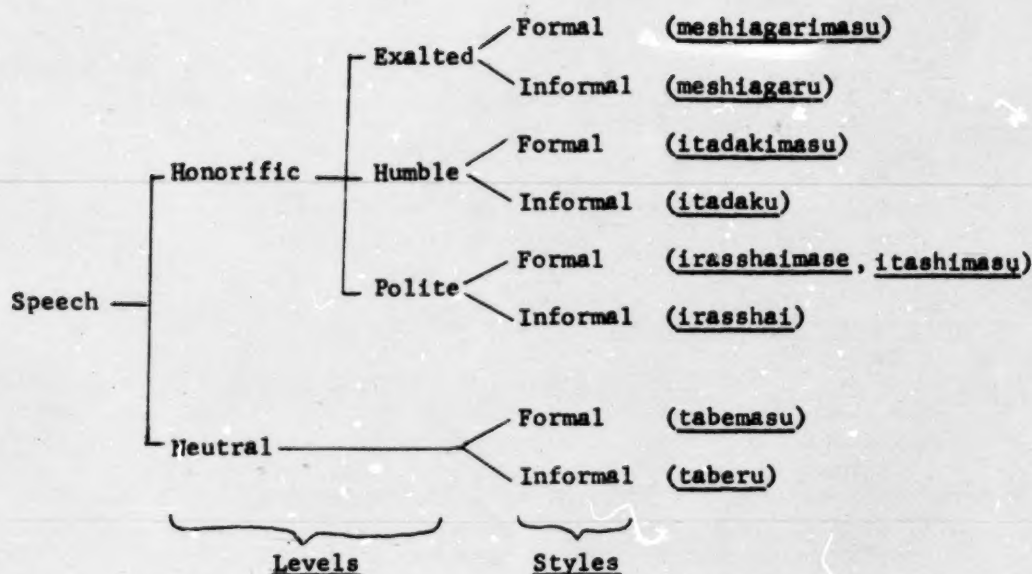
As it has been pointed out earlier, itashimasu, mairimasu and orimasu are used either as humble verbs or as courteous or polite verbs depending on the context. If they are humble verbs, it is possible to derive itase 'do!,' mairu 'come!,' and ore 'stay!' from itasu, mairu and oru respectively. The common characteristic of these sentence is that the subject person who does the action is of lower or inferior status than the person giving the order. These are the kinds of expressions that a feudal lord used when he was speaking to his followers and have little use in today's society. When used, they often seem to imply a sense of humor, irony or

contempt, because the politeness levels of the subject noun and the verb disagree. This disagreement of the politeness levels violates the general rule for the use of honorific speech. Exalted verbs like irassharu 'to come' and oyasumi nasaru 'to rest' may be used for imperative constructions. However, irasshai 'Please come' and Oyasumi nasai 'Good night' do not imply deference or respect. When a speaker wants to speak politely, he will use irasshai in place of koi, which is derived from the neutral verb kuru 'to come.' If he wants to show his politeness directly to the listener, he will say irasshaimase instead of irasshai. But when a speaker speaks to a person who is of higher status than he is, he will use a polite request form instead. He will say, irasshaimasen ka, irasshatte kudasaimasen ka, irasshatte itadakemasen ka, or the like, all meaning 'Would you please come?' Thus, imperative forms of exalted verbs are not themselves exalted verbs. They should be categorized as either polite or elegant.

Miyaji does not mention whether kochira 'this way,' ikaga 'how,' kekkoo 'fine' and yoroshii 'to be good' belong to the elegant or the courteous. Since they are not the special verbs which always take masu form and do not have imperative constructions, they may well fit into the elegant. However, they are always used in the presence of the listener. In using these words a speaker's consideration for the listener is primary, his next concern is his own refinement of speech. In this sense, they may belong to the courteous. Among his elegant words, oimo 'potato' and oyasumi 'day off' may be said in the absence of the listener as well as in his presence. Other examples like Oyasumi nasai 'Good night' and Ohayoo gozaimasu 'Good morning' always expect the presence of the listener in the same way as courteous words do. As a matter of fact, the distinction between the courteous and the elegant is ambiguous. If there is any, it pertains to parts of speech, which seems to be irrelevant to categorization of polite levels of speech. Since the formation of imperatives is restricted to the second person subject noun, it is not necessary to distinguish the verbs that can have imperative forms from those that cannot. It seems to be more meaningful if the courteous and the elegant are described in terms of their features like [+Vb, +polite, +hearer] or [-Vb, +polite, -hearer]. The feature [+Vb] refers to the true verbs (itadakimasu 'to eat'), whereas [-Vb] marks the adjectival verbs (yoroshii 'to be good'). The presence or absence of the listener is indicated by a plus or minus sign.

4. Reconstruction of classification.

The following is a representation of speech levels and styles in a greatly simplified form:



Speech consists of two components: level and style. Level has Neutral and Honorific levels and Honorific has three subdivisions: the Exalted, the Humble and the Polite. The Exalted, which is characterized by a feature [+exalted], is used to show a speaker's respect to the action or state of the person who is in higher status than he is. It includes expressions such as meshiagaru 'to eat,' irassharu 'to go,' oyomi ni naru 'to read,' gokazoku 'your family,' otegami 'your letter,' etc. The Humble, which has a feature [+humble], is used to show humility with reference to the action or state of the speaker, of the listener or of the third person, whoever is considered to be of lower status. Examples are itadaku 'to receive: to eat,' sashiageru 'to give,' omachi suru 'to wait,' yonde sashiageru 'to read it(for someone),' etc. The Polite, which is characterized by a feature [+polite], is used to show a speaker's decision to speak politely or carefully through his expression on the topic. It may be used either in the presence or absence of the listener. Examples include elegant words like okashi 'sweets,' ikaga 'how' and itadaku 'to eat' and imperatives of the exalted words like irasshai 'please come' and osshai 'please say.' The Polite consists of expressions which have moved from the Exalted or the Humble with the passage of time. Some expressions like the prefix o- and itashimasu 'to do' are of overlapped categories, that is, they can be used as the Polite as well as the Exalted or the Humble depending on the context and the features. As a rule, polite words do not permit honorification rules to make them more polite. For example, there are no such expressions as oirasshai, Tori mo oraremasu, Ame ga hutte omairi ni narimashita, etc. However, there is a recent tendency, especially among women, to

overuse the prefix o- without much consideration and ogochisoo 'feast,' oikaga 'how' and oyoroshii 'to be good' are heard along with expressions like otoire 'toilet,' oyoochien 'kindergarten' and otako 'octopus.' These are deviated expressions, which may be considered as being substandard.

Tsujimura classifies taberu 'to eat' in the elegant. In this proposed classification, it is put into the Neutral. To distinguish Neutral verbs from Polite verbs, the former can have Exalted forms, Humble forms and imperative forms, while the latter can not. Otabe ni naru and otabe suru are actually replaced by meshiagaru and itadaku, however, tabero and otabe will occur. Similarly, varu and ageru, both meaning 'to give' have oyari ni naru, oage ni naru and oage suru, although sashiageru is used more often than oage suru.

Styles are used to show directly the speaker's evaluation of the listener. They are Informal and Formal. The Informal style has a feature [-formal], which indicates the absence of the speaker's consideration. It is marked by da or -(r)u ending at the end of a sentence. The Formal style, which contains a feature [+formal] has desu and masu endings. Using the Formal style, a speaker shows his politeness directly to the listener.

A question may be raised. How do we deal with expressions such as Wagahai mo odekake asobasu ka 'Shall I go out, too?,'¹⁸ Hayaku itasanu ka 'Why don't you do it quickly?,'¹⁹ Ore-sama no wanryoku o shiranee ka 'Don't you know my strength?,'²⁰ and the like? In these examples, there is disagreement of politeness levels either between the subject noun and the verb or in the subject noun phrase, but a sense of humor, arrogance or spite predominates over the notion of honorific speech. These are deviated expressions of the Exalted or the Humble levels and are ungrammatical, yet they serve as humorous or sarcastic expressions in certain situations. They differ from ungrammatical, unacceptable sentences such as otegami ga irasshaimashita 'Your letter came' or Sensei wa watakushi kara itadakimashita 'The teacher received it from me.' Odekake asobasu, itasanu and ore-sama in the above can not be classified in the Exalted or in the Humble, because there is no genuine notion of respect or humility implied. If they are to be properly classified, they should be placed across from the Exalted or the Humble indicating that they are of the deviated words from the Exalted or the Humble respectively.

5. Conclusion.

The proposed classification, in principle, supports Jorden's and Tsujimura's classification. It follows their distinction of desu and masu from other honorifics which are determined by the speaker's attitude toward the subject matter, including topics, environment and people involved. In this respect, it has something in common with Mio's classification; however, the proposed one excludes (de) gozaimasu from his polite style. The proposed classification accounts for the mutual relationship of each category in terms of

the features of the subject noun and its verb and an agreement of politeness levels between them. Jordan's polite-neutral category is elaborated on and imperatives of the Exalted words are put into the polite-neutral or Tsujimura's elegant words. Tsujimura classifies taberu 'to eat' in his elegant words, but in the above classification, taberu, along with yaru and ageru meaning 'to give,' is shifted to the Neutral. Miyaji's courteous words and elegant words are included in the Polite, each being a constituent of the Polite category. The proposed classification employs traditional terms in honorific speech and follows the three-division of honorific levels, but differs substantially from that of traditional grammarians, which makes no distinction between speech levels and styles. The terms, "level" and "style" are borrowed from Young's classification.

Footnotes

1. I wish to thank Professor Norito Fujioka of the University of Hawaii Department of East Asian Literature for his valuable comments and useful suggestions on the earlier version of this paper.
2. Young and Nakajima (1968), Vol. III, pp. 148-153, Vol. IV, pp. 1-7.
3. Yamazaki (1950), p. 235; Ishizaka (1965), p. 386.
4. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo (1957), p. 3; Martin (1964a), p. 328; Yamazaki (1950), pp. 236-7.
5. Yuzawa (1931), pp. 19-24, 73-77.
6. Mio (1958), pp. 16-19. 318-450.
7. Tsujimura (1967), pp. 14-17, 101-104; Ishizaka (1965), pp. 390-391.
8. Miyaji (1968), pp. 92-98.
9. Jorden (1962), 2 vols.
10. Martin (1964a) and (1964b)
11. Miller (1967), pp. 268-272.
12. Young and Nakajima (1968), Vol. III, pp. 148-153.
13. Martin (1964a), pp. 331-332, 346-349.
14. Jorden (1962), Vol. 1, p. 155.
15. Prideaux (1970), pp. 28-34.
16. Tsujimura (1968), pp. 56-63.
17. Prideaux (1970), p. 20 and (1968), pp. 110-121.
18. Tsujimura (1967), p. 19.
19. Ibid., p. 24.
20. Tsujimura (1958), p. 331.

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